

The I. W. W. is the ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION of the WORKING CLASS; It Has No Political Affiliation and Is Controlled by no Political Party

The Industrial Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

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50c. a Year.

CONVENTION OF TEXTILE WORKERS

CALL FOR THE FIRST CONVENTION OF TEXTILE WORKERS, TO BE HELD MAY 1, 1908, IN I. W. W. TEXTILE WORKERS' HALL, PATERSON, N. J.

Issued by the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World on January 15th, 1908.
For all particulars write to
WM. E. TRAUTMANN,
212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.

To the Textile Workers of America:

Mutual relations between groups of workers are determined by the place and grade of employment. As handicraft produced the master and the journeyman, the skill acquired in long years of service was reflected in the grouping of the guilds. Displaced by the mechanical process, the handloom weaver and the journeyman have ceased to exist; huge factories and establishments have superseded the small workshop. No longer is the labor of one mechanic sufficient for the making of an article; hundreds of hands have to join together in collective work to yield to the owners of the machines and their tributary factories enormous profits exacted from the exploitation of wage earners in the industry.

The workers, with their skill rendered more and more useless, are held in common servitude to the machine which they tend, and which sets the pace for the full exploitation of their productivity. But while the workers fail to align themselves in groupings dictated by the change of tools which they operate, the capitalists in the industry carefully adjust themselves to the ever-changing conditions.

When the workers combined against further curtailment of conditions under which they were forced to sell their labor power, the owners sought to crush any efforts at resistance. Being unsuccessful in the attempt, they worked out plans to make the craft unions of workers subservient to the interests of the employers.

In preferring an organization of workers whose leaders assured them the protection of their mutual interests, the employers hold the employees in abject servitude. In the United Textile Workers of America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, one portion or craft of workers is held separated from others, where workers would rebel against further encroachments, the capitalists succeed, through the United Textile Workers of America and their labor lieutenants, in pitting one set of workers against the other in bitter strife.

And when textile workers in the northern parts would resist further reductions of their standard of living, the manufacturers continued to produce goods in the factories in the south controlled by them and kept this as the case, places of striking workers were filled, at the behest of the capitalists, by the officers of the United Textile Workers of America, workers were defeated by workers who did not know that they were helping the capitalists to lower the working conditions of all.

Thus estranged against each other, the hatred of one set of workers against another was engendered, unity of purpose and solidarity in the workshops is rendered abortive.

The battles of textile workers bear ample proof of the fact that they did not want to endure forever the slave-like conditions, and the loud outcries of the struggling thousands in Fall River, New Bedford, Philadelphia and other places have startled, time and again, a world that boasts of its civilization and knows not the life of those who toil under the most pitiable hardships.

Limited in scope and disconnected in action as were all previous efforts for the deliverance of the textile workers from the evils of this system, every outbreak of discontent and efforts at improvement could be subdued by the combined powers of the capitalists and craft union leaders, supported by the ignorance of the workers.

The economic evils afflicting the textile workers can only be eradicated by a universal extensive movement which gathers all the disconnected forces and aligns them with a general working class movement in the industrial field.

A movement to bring relief, and offering the final solution of the labor problem, must be founded on the fact that the employing class and the working class have nothing in common, that there can be no peace as long as hunger and want are common among millions of working people, and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

It must be an economic organization, and not endorse nor ask endorsement of any political party.

It must be organized on the industrial plan of organization, all workers in a given place of employment should be members of one union, subordinated in branches as dictated by conditions and experience.

All unions of workers in the textile industry should be subordinate to one National Industrial Union of Textile Workers, which again would form a component part of the Department Organization of Textile and Clothing Industries, into which would be organized in two other national industrial unions all workers engaged in the making of clothing and those working at the finishing of products from textiles.

Over 5,000 textile workers in different localities have already organized into the Industrial Workers of the World, and thousands of others are ready to concentrate their energies and get all other workers into the folds of the organization. But to assure the co-operation of all who strive to establish a real labor organization on the plan proposed, the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World deemed it necessary to issue this call for a National Convention, to be held in I. W. W. Textile Workers' Hall, 184 Main Street, Paterson, N. J., on May 1, 1908, for the purpose of forming a National Industrial Union of Textile Workers of the Industrial Workers of the World.

BASIS OF REPRESENTATION.

Representation in the convention shall be based upon the number of members organized in a union of textile workers at least two months prior to the convention. Each union entitled to representation in the convention shall be entitled to one vote for the first fifty of its members and one additional vote for each additional fifty of its members or major fraction thereof.

The convention will act on credentials of all such delegates from bodies not as yet connected with the Industrial Workers of the World.

All textile workers, therefore, who agree to these plans and the principles set forth, are called upon to organize immediately, or where already organized, to prepare for the sending of delegates to that convention. All further information can be obtained from general headquarters of the Industrial Workers of the World, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.

Printed leaflets, containing the manifesto and call, can be obtained at the price of \$2 per thousand, in English, French, German and Italian. Address orders as above.

Issued by authority of the General Executive Board, Industrial Workers of the World.

Wm. E. Trautman, Gen'l Sec'y-Treas.
Vincent St. John, General Organizer.

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T. J. Cole, Blue Island, Ill.
Rudolph Katz, Paterson, N. J.
B. H. Williams, Eureka, Cal.
Wm. Yates, New Bedford, Mass.

AUX OUVRIERS TEXTILES

Appel au premier congrès des ouvriers textiles, qui se réunira le 1 Mai, 1908, dans la salle des ouvriers textiles des Industrial Workers of the World, Paterson, New Jersey.

Rendu par la Direction générale des Industrial Workers of the World, le 15 Janvier, 1908.
Pour des renseignements plus précis on est prié de s'adresser à William E. Trautmann, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.

Aux ouvriers textiles d'Amérique:
Les relations mutuelles entre les groupes d'ouvriers sont déterminées par le lieu et le grade de l'emploi. Comme la main-d'œuvre a produit le maître et le garçon l'apprenti, l'habileté acquise pendant des longues années de service

était reflétée dans les groupements des corporations. Déplacés par des progrès mécaniques le tissage à la main et les garçons n'existent plus; des fabriques et d'établissements immenses ont remplacé l'atelier. Aujourd'hui le travail d'un seul ouvrier ne suffit pas à produire un article de commerce; il faut employer des centaines de mains dans le travail collectif à rendre aux propriétaires des machines et des fabriques les profits énormes demandés de l'exploitation des industriels.

Les ouvriers avec leur dextérité rendue plus inutile, sont contraincis à la servitude commune de la machine. Et la machine même fixe l'intensité et la durée du travail au point de l'exploitation des travailleurs les plus compétents. Mais quelque les ouvriers se ne groupent pas selon les lignes indiquées par le changement des outils qu'ils emploient, les capitalistes de l'industrie s'adaptent soigneusement au développement continuels des conditions.

Quand les travailleurs se sont liés à faire tête contre l'abaissement des conditions qui ont contrôlés la venance forcée de leur énergie productive, les capitalistes entreprennent aussitôt à toute force à écraser la résistance ouvrière. Leurs premiers efforts n'ont pas réussi. Alors ils ont formés un plan à subordonner les syndicats de métiers aux intérêts des patrons.

En encourageant une organisation ouvrière les chefs de laquelle les ont assurés de la protection de leurs intérêts mutuels les patrons tentent les employés dans la servitude abjecte. Dans l'United Textile Workers of America, affilié à l'American Federation of Labor, les ouvriers d'un métier sont séparés des autres. Les uns sont toujours en train de faire le sarrasinage aux autres, à les remplacer au temps de grève. Quand une organisation d'ouvriers s'est levée contre l'usurpation des capitalistes ont toujours réussis, grâce aux United Textile Workers of America et leurs lieutenants, à opposer un groupe des travailleurs à l'autre dans la lutte la plus acharnée. Et quand les ouvriers du nord se sont opposés à l'abaissement de leur manière de vivre les fabricants ont continués à produire des marchandises dans leurs établissements du sud. C'est à dire quand une partie des ouvriers du métier étaient en grève les patrons ont exploités leur fabriques avec le travail d'une autre.

On s'est efforcé de faire les places des ouvriers en grève étaient remplis, sous l'ordre des capitalistes par les officiers des United Textile Workers of America. Des ouvriers ont été vaincus par d'autres ouvriers qui ne savaient pas qu'ils aidaient les capitalistes à abaisser les conditions de travail à abaisser les conditions de travail à tous.

En cette sorte les ouvriers se sont opposés les uns aux autres. Alors s'est engendrée la haine d'un groupe de travailleurs contre l'autre; l'unité des buts et la solidarité des ouvriers d'un métier étaient rendues impossibles.

Les luttes des ouvriers textiles ont assez démontré qu'ils ne veulent pas supporter à toujours les conditions d'esclavage. Les cris des milliers en lutte à Fall River, New Bedford, Philadelphia et d'autres endroits a fait trembler le plus qu'une fois un monde qui vante sa civilisation et ne connaît pas la vie de ceux qui travaillent sous des privations les plus pénibles.

Jusqu'à présent toutes manifestations de mécontentement, tous efforts à l'émancipation étaient étouffés par les pouvoirs combinés des capitalistes et chefs des syndicats. Mais ce qui est nécessaire à accentuer ce qui était l'ignorance, ils n'ont jamais agis en concert.

Il n'a qu'une méthode à employer, les maux économiques qui affligent les ouvriers textiles: c'est par un mouvement universel, un mouvement qui combine tous les forces jusqu'ici séparés et les allie dans une action générale ouvrière dans le monde industriel.

Mais à réussir, à écarter les maux de la classe ouvrière, c'est absolument nécessaire que ce mouvement soit fondé sur la théorie de la lutte des classes. La classe ouvrière et la classe capitaliste n'ont aucun intérêt en commun. C'est impossible d'avoir des conditions paisibles entre ces deux classes quand la faim et la misère se trouvent parmi les millions des travailleurs et un tout petit nombre qui composent la classe capitaliste possèdent tous les biens de la vie.

Il faut avoir une organisation économique, une organisation qui se ne lie pas d'aucune façon à un parti politique quelconque.

Il faut avoir une organisation constituée sur le plan industriel. C'est à dire tous les ouvriers dans une usine ou fabrique doivent donner leur adhésion à un seul syndicat. Naturellement ils peuvent être organisés dans des divisions subordonnées selon les conditions et l'expérience.

Tous les syndicats des ouvriers de l'industrie textile doivent être organisés dans une organisation nationale des travailleurs textiles. Cette organisation doit être intégrale d'un département des industries des textiles et des vêtements. Cette dernière organisation doit comprendre deux autres départements nationaux composés des industriels employés à la fabrication des vêtements et au perfectionnement des produits textiles.

Plus que 5,000 d'ouvriers textiles des localités diverses ont déjà donné leur adhésion aux Industrial Workers of the World, et des milliers d'autres sont prêts à concentrer leur énergie à mener tous les ouvriers dans les rangs de leur organisation. Mais à assurer la coopération des tours qui cherchent de leur organisation à un seul syndicat.

Naturellement ils peuvent être organisés dans des divisions subordonnées selon les conditions et l'expérience. Direction générale des Industrial Workers of the World a estimé nécessaire à convoquer un congrès national. Ce congrès se réunira dans la salle des I. W. W. Textile Workers, 184 Main Street, Paterson, New Jersey, le 1 Mai, 1908. L'objet de ce congrès sera de former une union nationale industrielle des ouvriers textiles des Industrial Workers of the World.

LA BASE DE LA REPRÉSENTATION.

La représentation sera calculée sur le nombre des membres organisés dans un syndicat des ouvriers textiles deux mois avant la réunion. Chaque syndicat ayant le droit de représentation au congrès sera intitulé à un vote sur la première cinquantaine de membres et un vote de plus sur chaque cinquantaine supplémentaire de membres.

Le congrès prononcera sur les lettres de créance des délégués des tous syndicats pas allés aux Industrial Workers of the World.

Alors tous les ouvriers textiles qui se trouvent en accord à propos de ces plans et les principes explicités plus haut sont appelés à s'organiser immédiatement. Et ceux qui sont déjà organisés sont priés d'envoyer des délégués à ce congrès. On peut obtenir d'information plus précise au près de la Direction générale des Industrial Workers of the World, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.

Des petites feuilles comprenant ce manifeste et convocation s'obtiennent à deux dollars le mille en anglais, français, allemand, italien et polonais. On est prié de s'adresser à la Direction générale.

Rendu par l'autorité du General Executive Board, Industrial Workers of the World.

WM. E. TRAUTMANN,
Gen'l Sec'y-Treas.
VINCENT ST. JOHN,
General Organizer.

NOTICE TO ALL OFFICERS OF LOCAL UNIONS AND INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT COUNCILS

Notice is hereby served on the officers of all Local Unions and Industrial District Councils that from and after April 18th, all monies for Dues, Subscriptions to THE BULLETIN, or Supplies, must be paid to the general headquarters, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, and must be promptly remitted each month.

No money paid to any other person than the general secretary-treasurer will be credited on the books of the organization at headquarters, and no supplies or due stamps will be furnished to local organizations now in arrears until their indebtedness is liquidated.

CHICAGO, APRIL 9, 1908.

WM. E. TRAUTMANN,
Gen. Sec.-Treas.

AUFBRUF AN TEXTILARBEITER

Aufforderung zur Besprechung der ersten Delegierten-Versammlung von Textil-Arbeitern (Konvention) einberufen auf den ersten Mai, 1908, nach der I. W. W. Halle in Paterson, N. J., 184 Main Street.

Ausgeschiedet von dem Haupt-Vorstand der Industrial Workers of the World; am 15ten Januar, 1908.
Behufs Einzelheiten wende man sich an W. E. Trautmann, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.

An die Textilarbeiter Amerikas:

Genossen! Die gegenseitigen Beziehungen zwischen Gruppen von Arbeitern werden bestimmt von dem Grade und dem Gebiet der Ausbeutung. Wie das Zunftsystem des Handwerks-Meisters und Gesellen hervorbrachte, so war die Ausbildung in Gewerbe, die durch jahrelangen Dienst erworben wurde, in den Groupierungen der Zunftvereinigungen ausgebreitet. Verdrängt durch die Entwicklung des Maschinenwesens, gehören sowohl der Handwebstuhl wie auch der Handwerks-Platz machen müssen. Nicht länger genügt die Arbeit eines Mannes oder Frau, um eine bestimmte Waare fertig zu stellen; hunderte von fleissigen Händen müssen in gemeinschaftlicher Arbeit zusammenwirken, um fuer die Eigentümer der Maschinen und deren tributpflichtigen Fabriken ungeheure Profits zu erzeugen, herausgeschoben durch unbeschränkte Ausbeutung der Lohnarbeiter in der Industrie.

Die Arbeiter, deren handwerks-mässige Ausbildung immer zweckloser wird, werden in gemeinschaftlicher Dienstbarkeit an die Maschine gefesselt, die sie bedrücken, und welche das Mass bestimmt fuer die volle Ausbeutung der Produktivität derselben.

Doch während die Arbeiter zaudern und verfehlen, sich in Gruppen zusammenzuschliessen, wie sie durch die Unwissenheit der Produktionsmittel bestimmt werden, passen sich die Kapitalisten in der Industrie sorgfältig den sich stets ändernden Verhältnissen an.

Wenn sich ja die Arbeiter zusammengeschlossen gegen weitere Verheerung ihrer Lage, unter der sie gezwungen wurden ihre Arbeitskraft zu verkaufen, versuchten die Eigentümer jeden Versuch des Widerstandes in Keime zu ersticken. Vergeblich in diesem Benehmen jedoch, arbeiteten sie Pläne aus, durch welche sie die Fach-Verbindungen von Arbeitern den Interessen der Ausbeuter dienstbar zu machen suchten.

Durch Bevormundung einer Organisation von Arbeitern, deren Führer ihnen den Schutz ihrer angeblich gemeinschaftlichen Interessen versicherten, sind die Eigentümer im Stande, die Angestellten in das Joch ungeschwächter Ausbeutung festzulegen. In dem "Vereinigten Textilarbeiter Verband von America" (United Textile Workers of America) welcher der "American Federation of Labor" angeschlossen ist, wird eine Gruppe der Arbeiter in derselben Industrie von den Arbeitern anderer abgesondert; in der That verrichtet ein Theil Streikbrecherdienste gegen die anderen.

Und wenn immer eine Vereinigung von Arbeitern sich gegen weitere Unterdrückung-Massregeln auflehnte, gelang es den Kapitalisten, mit Hilfe der "United Textile Workers of America" und ihrer getreuen Arbeiter-Leutnants, eine Schicht der Arbeiterschaft in bitterer Feinde gegen andere Schichten auszuspielen. Wenn die Textilarbeiter in den Nordstaaten des Landes sich gegen weitere Herabdrückung ihrer Lebensweise zur Wehre setzten, suchten die Kapitalisten ungestört die Produktion weiter in den von ihnen gleichgültigen Fabriken der Südstaaten; und hielten sie dieselben in Betrieb, mit der Hilfe von anderen Mitgliedern der Arbeiterklasse. Oder es wurden auch, wie es der Fall war, die Plätze von streikenden Arbeitern durch die Beamten der "United Textile Workers" Verbands an Ersuchen der Kapitalisten besetzt.

Arbeiter wurden so von anderen Arbeitern in Kämpfe bestigt, ohne dass es den letzteren klar gemacht wurde, dass sie mithalfen die Lebenslage aller Textilarbeiter herabzudrücken.

Selbstweise in feindlicher Stellung gegen einander stehend, ist der Hass einer Gruppe von Arbeitern gegen andere Gruppen geschürt und gepocht worden; Einigkeit fuer gemeinschaftliche Zwecke, und Solidarität in der Arbeitstaette ist unmöglich gemacht.

Die Kämpfe der Textilarbeiter gegen reichlich Zeugnis von der Thatssache, dass dieselben nicht genügt waren, auf ewig die sklavenähnlichen Zustände zu dulden, mehr wie einmal haben die lauten Aufschreie von tausenden kämpfenden Arbeitern in Fall River, New Bedford, Philadelphia und anderen Industriepätzen Entsetzen erregend, eine Welt aufgeweckt, die sich ihrer Civilisation leuset und doch das Leben derer, die unter den fluchwürdigsten Entbehrungen Werthe schaffen, nicht kennt.

Begründet in Ausbeutung und unzusammenhängend in der Ausfuehrung, wie alle bisherigen Versuche zur sozialen Heilung und Befreiung der Textilarbeiter von den Uebelständen des Systems waren konnte jeder Ausbruch der Unzufriedenheit und Versuch zur Verbesserung der Lebenslage unterdrückt werden durch die vereinigten Kräfte der Kapitalisten und Fach-Union-Führer, die in ihrer verheerenden Uebelstände, die die Textilarbeiter plagten, konnten nur beseitigt werden durch eine ausgebreitete, allgemeine Bewegung, welche alle unzufriedenen Kräfte vereinigt, und sie hinfuehrt in eine allgemeine Arbeiterklassen-Bewegung auf dem wirtschaftlichen Gebiet.

Eine Bewegung, die Hülfe bringen soll, und eine endgültige Lösung der Arbeiterfrage, muss die Thatssache sich stützen, dass die Klasse der Arbeiter und die der Arbeitgeber keine gemeinschaftlichen Interessen haben, so lange wie Hunger und Mangel unter den Millionen der Arbeiter herrschen, und die wenigen, die die Klasse der Arbeitgeber bilden, all guten Dinge des Lebens besitzen.

Es muss ein wirtschaftliche Kampf-Organisation sein, und weiter eine politische Partei indessen, noch die Indossierung irgend einer politischen Partei fordern.

Dieselbe muss auf dem Plan der Betriebsorganisation aufgebaut werden; alle Arbeiter einer Betriebsstaette sollten Mitglieder einer Union sein, eingeteilt in Zweigorganisationen, wie durch Verhältnisse und Erfahrung vorgeschrieben werden unter einem "Nationalen Industrie-Verband von Textilarbeitern" welcher wiederum ein Bestandtheil der Department-Organisation der Textil- und Bekleidungs-Industrien bilden würde, innerhalb welcher alle Arbeiter, welche in der Herstellung von Kleidungswaren, und die die in der Fertigstellung von anderen Nationalem Industrie-Verbanden organisiert werden würden.

Über 5000 Textilarbeiter, die in verschiedenen Ortschaften ansässig sind, haben sich bereits in der "Industrial Workers of the World" organisiert, und tausende von anderen sind bereit, ihre Kräfte zu vereinen, und alle anderen gleichfalls unter das Banner der Organisation zu bringen. Um aber das Zusammenwirken aller derer zu erreichen, welche darnach trachten, eine wirkliche Arbeiterorganisation nach dem angeführten Plane zu verwirklichen, hat der Haupt-Vorstand der Industrial Workers of the World es fuer notwendig befunden, diesen Aufruf zur Abhaltung einer National-Konvention, welche am 1ten Mai, 1908, in der I. W. W. Halle, 184 Main Street, Paterson, N. J., abgehalten werden wird, zu erlassen, zum Zwecke einen "Nationalen Industrie Verband von Textilarbeitern" ins Leben zu rufen.

BASIS DER VERTRETUNG.

Die Vertretung auf der Konvention soll berechnet werden gemäss der Zahl von Mitgliedern, welche in einer Union von Textilarbeitern spätestens zwei Monate vor dem Tage der Konvention organisiert waren.

Jede zur Vertretung in der Konvention berechnete Union soll zu einer Stimme fuer die ersten 50 der Mitglieder berechnigt sein, und zu einer weiteren Stimme fuer jede weiteren 50 Mitglieder, oder grosseren Bruchtheil dieser Zahl.

Die Konvention wird die Mandate aller Delegaten von Körperschaften, die noch nicht in der Industrial Workers of the World organisiert sind, prüfen, und die Bedingungen der Zulassung derselben selbst bestimmen.

Alle Textilarbeiter, die ihre Uebereinstimmung mit dem Plane und den Grundprinzipien, die in diesem Aufruf enthalten sind, bekunden, sind aufgefordert, sich zu organisieren, oder wo bereits organisiert, Vorbereitungen zur Entsendung von Delegaten zu treffen. Alle weitere Auskunft kann vom Hauptquartier der Industrial Workers of the World, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill., verlangt werden. Gedruckte Circulars mit dem Aufruf in englischer, französischer, italienischer und deutscher Sprache kommen von derselben Quelle bezogen werden, \$2.00 per tausend.

Erlassen laut Beschluss der Haupt-Executive der Industrial Workers of the World.

Wm. E. Trautmann, Haupt-Sekretär-Schatzmeister.
Vincent St. John, Haupt-Organisator.

Mitglieder des Haupt-Vorstandes:
F. W. Heslewood, Greenwood, B. C.
Rud. Katz, Paterson, N. J.
aus Textilarbeiter, die in der Industrie von Textilarbeitern, welcher wiederum ein Bestandtheil der Department-Organisation der Textil- und Bekleidungs-Industrien bilden würde, innerhalb welcher alle Arbeiter, welche in der Herstellung von Kleidungswaren, und die die in der Fertigstellung von anderen Nationalem Industrie-Verbanden organisiert werden würden.

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CHICAGO, APRIL 11, 1908

A COMBINATION OF LABOR

It seems likely that the next man of whom sycophants will say he is president "by divine authority and appointment," is W. H. Taft, at present Secretary of War by appointment of Theodore Roosevelt. Mr. Taft sojourned a little while in Chicago recently. He delivered himself somewhat freely on the much discussed subject of the "rights" of capital and labor. After handing out a choice assortment of platitudes for which his chief, the president, has become more or less famous, he said:

"The combination of capital means so much power that unless labor unites in an organization which puts its members on an independent footing, labor will stand no chance in the inevitable controversy with regard to how labor and capital shall share the joint profit of both.

"Any one who understands conditions welcomes the combination of labor in order that labor may enforce what is due it. Labor, in order to be efficient in its organization, must have a common fund. The controversy will go on from time to time in various forms."

Just two things in this statement are worthy of notice. The first is that COMBINATION is power, and the second that labor in order to be efficient must have COMBINATION. Without raising the question of Mr. Taft's sincerity—which is a matter of small consequence, since it is inevitable that he will as president be the representative of capitalist interests—we must almost entirely agree with him. Knowing the speaker's record as to what, however, we are quite sure that we should not be able to agree as to what constitutes "efficient" combination for labor. Any combination of labor that falls below the efficiency of the combinations of capital, such as the craft unions with which labor is cursed, is inadequate and will fail. Craft unionism is not combination; it is separation. Craft unionism will never generate the power or efficiency which is necessary to put labor on a footing independent of capitalistic combinations. Capitalistic combinations are laid out on the lines of industries. The combination of labor must also be an industrial combination, taking in one set of workers not because they are able temporarily to pay high dues or because they are more skillful than another set, but admitting all because they are of the working class and their joint labor is necessary to social production and efficiency.

There is no unity in craft unionism. Industrial organization is a condition to the unity of labor and only the industrial organization or combination of labor will bring efficiency. And since Mr. Taft and all who think within the limitations he has set for himself do not approve of a combination that will COMBINE the workers, the workers themselves should see to it that the industrial organization is what they need and work for it until they have power enough to put capitalist industry down and out.

IGNORANT POLITICAL ACTION

That dear old Tribune, calloused leader of the prostituted press of Chicago, was much disturbed on Tuesday morning last by the prospect that many voters whose names were on the registry books would fail to vote. Noting the fact that a large number of voters failed to register last month, the guardian of capitalist interests was deeply concerned lest those who had registered might not "show that they have acquired the habit of voting." The Tribune's fear was well-grounded. An increasing number of voters who had "acquired the habit" have discovered that it is unproductive of any benefits to them. They do not thereby accept or endorse the economic theories or the tactics of anarchism. They are not anarchists or "veiled dynamiters." On the contrary, they have merely become wise to the fact that, despite the voting "habit," the power exercised in a city hall, a state legislature, or a national congress, as well in the control and manipulation of armies and navies, and to a great degree also of the courts, is a power in the hands of the class which controls the industries and businesses of the country. This is especially true of the working class abstinents. They have been fooled to the limit by politicians and political parties, while they stuck to the "habit." Politicians and parties have betrayed them every time they have voted, and the habit of the politicians has been and now is, and will continue to be to serve the interests of the economically powerful. The "habit" of voting without a DEFINITE WORKING CLASS AIM and solely upon issues raised to befuddle the working class mind, is losing its value. It is a good sign; it points to better things to come. It is progress. The working class is learning from experience the futility of political action that serves only the interests of the robber band of capitalism and ignores its own. There is in process of generation a New Politics based upon the industrial vote—the vote in the mine, mill, factory, shop and transportation service. When that vote is intelligently used, when the interests of the workers is understood by them in the places where they work, then there will be "some use in going to the polls." And the "habit" of blind political action will be ended.

"THE STUFF IS OFF"

The labor movement in America has probably heard the last of an attempt by the officers of the Western Federation of Miners to launch a rival organization to the Industrial Workers of the World. In common parlance, "the stuff is off!" April the sixth came and vanished, but no industrial conference materialized. After nine months' time for preparations, after three postponements, after circulating reports that several large labor bodies would be represented in the conference, the strenuous efforts made to carry out a scheme to destroy the Industrial Workers of the World have proven abortive. No conference was held, although W. D. Haywood, one of the principal promoters, was in Chicago or its vicinity on the day set for it.

The fact is that the conference proposed was conceived in a desire to destroy the Industrial Workers of the World. It was a move devoid of sincerity on the part of those who originated it. During the entire period that has elapsed since the fifteenth annual convention of the W. F. M., the Industrial Workers of the World has been the object of despicable attacks, both public and private, from the present officers of the miners' organization.

IT IS WELL. The I. W. W. is still doing business at 212 Bush Temple, Chicago.

The "Western Clarion," a confused and confusing Socialist paper printed at Vancouver, B. C., says, "the trade union belongs to the category of 'traders' organizations," that as a matter of fact "the trade union is not an organization of workmen," and concludes that when the Socialist movement has triumphed and is in possession of the government works, it "will put the whole caboodle of traders' organizations (including the trade union) OUT of business!" That is the position of an alleged Socialist paper which closes its asinine yawp for pure-and-simple parliamentary action by exultingly shouting, "Speed the day!" Nef sed!

When an American consul finds the demand for information about the I. W. W. so insistent that he writes direct to this office for a supply of literature, it looks very much as if something was doing, doesn't it? Well, that is what happened last week. The consul is located at an important industrial center in Australia.

Information has reached headquarters of the death at Marble, Col. of J. B. Ralick, who was hit by a heavy derrick cable at the quarry operated by I. W. W. men and killed. The deceased was held in high regard by the members of Local 408, and his death is deeply deplored.

Thompson's Argument Challenged

To the Industrial Union Bulletin:
On March 26, Organizer James P. Thompson addressed a meeting at Lawrence, Mass., called to organize textile workers into the I. W. W. In the course of his talk he spoke very disparagingly of political action on the part of the Workers. Voting was referred to as "making a cross on a bit of paper," and "using a lead pencil" was employed as a phrase synonymous with "political action." I have before heard Organizer Thompson refer in contemptuous ways to working class political organization, and while his right to such opinions is conceded, his right to put forth from the I. W. W. platform and elsewhere opinions which, as I understand it, the I. W. W. has expressly repudiated in its preamble and its conventions, is not so clear. I think no such right can be conceded.

Suppose some one should describe a rifle in the hand of a soldier as a "block of wood and an iron tube" and scorn its effectiveness for offense and defense. The description is true enough so far as it goes. But like Fellow Worker Thompson's "lead-pencil" and "cross on a bit of paper," it does not go far enough. For the reason that these descriptions fail to tell what that "wood and iron tube" and "cross on a bit of paper" are capable of as instruments in the use of intelligent, determined men, yet, being in and of themselves, they are, and in purpose a denial of their being instruments and having any effectiveness as such, such description is false. The rifle is loaded and will kill any thousand yards. The halloo also is "loaded." The Workers who cast it in utterance of their will may be depended upon when they count themselves a majority and entitled to prevail, to make its verdict effective.

When questioned by the writer at the meeting, Mr. Thompson replied that "the was only arguing against those who are 'pure-and-simple' political actionists and do not believe in Industrial Unionism." It occurs to me that you cannot convince men by beginning with a ridiculous misstatement of their position.

Mr. Thompson said that the I. W. W. was not opposed to political action and "might" later set up its own party. Then we were told that the I. W. W. was opposed to working class parties, "if your fellows are in power and try to order us we will have to fight you."

Strange, he did not see that the "your fellows" could be elected only by and be representative only of workingmen who were industrially organized, and that his objection held equally good (or bad) against the I. W. W. setting up its own party and placing men in political prominence and power whom "we may have to fight."

Are Fellow Workers Thompson's views the views of the I. W. W., or is he misrepresenting the organization from its own platform while engaged as its national organizer?

John J. Duffy.

His Impressions Corrected

I recently ordered from you the second issue of the Bulletin. I am doing so was that I wanted to refresh my memory as to the stand taken by Fellow Worker B. H. Williams on the amendment to the preamble, proposed by Local No. 1 in Shenectady. The proposed amendment was that the second clause of the preamble shall read as follows:

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on, until all the toilers unite as a class into one organization and by their own direct action on the political as well as on the industrial field, take and hold that which they produce by their labor."

The reasons given for this amendment were the same, as Fellow Worker Williams put forward in his New York speech, and the Shenectady delegates had written instructions to that effect.

Now if I remember right Williams referred to the stand Shenectady took as foolish, and when I learned that he was an S. L. P. man, I always carried the thought that in the case of those S. L. P. men for whom it is hard to "learn a new language."

Reading his New York speech I am glad that I had a mistaken idea about him. I thoroughly coincide with his ideas, and can state that the majority of the I. W. W. men being able S. L. P. men in Shenectady, also held the same views. It never entered our mind that we were purely physical forceists, and I cannot see where Williams' "new language" was a "veiled dynamism," as the "Daily People" of March 13th put it.

It seems to me that such articles as that in the "Daily People" of March 13th, and headed "Political Action," are the cause of factional strife and a hindrance to revolutionary unity. Discussion and criticism is needed, but it must be kept clear of personal slurs, or causing factional alignments.

The need of the workingclass is one class organization, containing within itself all means to combat capitalism on every field, (political as well as industrial), and to build the superstructure of the social order which is to supersede Capitalism. As the workers are organized now their energies are divided, and I would expect that the workingclass shall cut loose from these old traditions, when we, the revolutionists, do not know enough to come together and lay aside all fetich worshipping of party organizations, and to consider the needs of the workingclass. It seems to me that it will be up to the I. W. W. to call upon Socialists directly to come together and settle their differences and let the intellectual leaders of both parties scrap it out between themselves; for just so long as the rank and file lines up with either of the Intellectuals in their squabbles, that long unity on either field cannot be accomplished. I do not say those intellectual scraps

Convention of Textile Workers

AGLI OPERAI DELLE ARTI TESSILI.

Invito di partecipazione alla Prima Convenzione degli Operai Arti Tessili che sarà tenuta nella Industrial Workers' Textile Hall, Paterson, N. J., il 15 Maggio 1908.

Esce dal Comitato Esecutivo Generale della Industrial Workers' of the World il 15 Gennaio 1908.

Per ogni chiarimento scrivere a Wm. E. TRAUTMANN, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.

AGLI OPERAI DELLE ARTI TESSILI D'AMERICA.

Le relazioni mutuali fra gruppi di operai vengono determinate dal luogo dal grado della loro occupazione. Siccome il lavoro a mano prelude il padrone ed il giornaliero, così l'abilità acquistata nei lunghi anni di servizio fu riflessa nel raggruppamento delle maestranze. Disprezzato dal procedimento meccanico il tessitore a mano e il giornaliere hanno cessato di esistere; Immondi opifici e stabilimenti hanno sostituito il piccolo laboratorio. Il lavoro di un solo meccanico non è più sufficiente a fare un articolo; centinaia di braccia debbono riunirsi in lavoro collettivo per produrre ai proprietari delle macchine e degli opifici profitti enormi, esenti nello sfruttamento dei salariati nelle industrie.

Gli operai, la cui nascita è resa sempre più inutile, sono mantenuti in comune servitudine alla macchina che essi stessi operano e che stabilisce il grado con cui sfruttano interamente la loro produzione. Ma mentre gli operai non pensano ad allinearsi nei gruppi dettati dal cambiamento degli utensili di cui si servono, i capitalisti industriali con gran cura adattano se stessi davanti alle sempre cambianti condizioni industriali.

Quando gli operai si unirono e insorsero contro nuove diminuzioni nelle condizioni sotto di cui erano obbligati a vendere la forza delle loro braccia, i proprietari cercarono di schiacciarli nel loro sforzo di resistenza. Non riuscendo nel loro disegno misero in attività un piano per far sì che le unioni di mestiere operale siano subordinate agli interessi del capitale.

Dando la preferenza ad una organizzazione operale i cui capi assuevano loro la protezione dei mutui loro interessi, i padroni tengono gli operai in abietta servitù. Nella United Textile Workers of America, affiliata all'American Federation of Labor, una porzione d'operai o mestiere è tenuta separata dall'altra, facendo sì che virtualmente uno fa da scab contro l'altro.

Ogni volta che un corpo operale si ribella contro qualunque nuova usurpazione, i capitalisti riuscirono, col mezzo della United Textile Workers of America ed i suoi luogotenenti a opporre una qualità di operai contro l'altra in aspre lotte. E quando gli operai tessili del Nord resistevano contro nuove riduzioni del loro livello di vita, i manifatturieri continuavano a produrre articoli negli opifici del Sud da essi controllati e tenevano così le loro fabbriche in attività con altri membri della classe lavoratrice. O, (come fu più volte il caso) i posti degli operai scoppiarono venivano riempiti, a richiesta dei capitalisti, dagli ufficiali della United Textile Workers of America, e operai erano combattuti da operai i quali non sapevano che così facendo aiutavano i capitalisti ad abbassare le condizioni di lavoro di tutti.

E'ci schiatti l'uno contro l'altro l'odio di una qualità di operai contro un'altra si generò; l'unità d'intendimento e la solidarietà nel laboratorio venne resa vana.

Le battaglie degli operai delle arti tessili danno piena testimonianza del fatto che essi non intendono di sottostare per sempre alle attuali condizioni di schiavitù e i forti grida delle migliaia di lotanti a Fall River, New Bedford, Philadelphia, Paterson, West Hoboken ed altre località hanno sorpreso, di tempo in tempo, un mondo che cala la sua civiltazione ma non conosce la vita di quelli che s'affacciano sotto il peso delle più miserevoli privazioni e stenti.

Limitati negli scopi e disconnessi in azione come furono tutti i precedenti tentativi di liberazione degli operai tessili dai malvagi risultati del presente sistema ogni scoppio di malcontento e sforzo di miglioramento fu facilmente essor soggiogato dalle collegate forze dei capitalisti e dei capi delle unioni di mestiere appoggiate dall'ignoranza degli operai.

I disagi economici che affliggono gli operai tessili possono essere radicali solamente da un movimento universalmente eseso, il quale riunisca tutte le forze disconnesse e le allinei in un movimento generale della classe lavoratrice nel campo industriale.

Un movimento aporizzatore di sollievo e promettente di una soluzione finale del problema operale deve essere basato sul fatto che la classe capitalistica e la classe lavoratrice non hanno niente in comune, che non vi può esser pace fintanto che la fame e il bisogno si trovano in mezzo a milioni di operai e che i pochi formanti la classe capitalistica posseggono tutte le comodità della vita.

Dev'essere un'organizzazione economica che non appoggi né domini da l'appoggio di verun partito politico.

Devono essere organizzati sul piano di organizzazione industriale tutti i lavoratori in un dato luogo, e non importa dove essi lavorino, e i membri di una sola unione suddivisa in sezioni rese necessarie dalle condizioni e dall'esperienza.

Tutte le unioni dei lavoratori nelle Arti Tessili devono essere subordinate ad un'Unione Nazionale Industriale degli Operai Arti Tessili, la quale a sua volta formerà una parte del Dipartimento Organizzazioni delle Industrie dei Tessuti e Vestiario, nel quale vi saranno organizzate tutte le unioni industriali Nazionali comprendenti tutti gli operai impiegati nella confezione degli abiti e nella rifinitura dei tessuti.

Più di 5,000 operai tessili nelle diverse località si organizzarono di già nella Industrial Workers of the World e migliaia di altri sono pronti a concentrare le loro energie ed attirare tutti gli altri operai nella cerchia dell'organizzazione. Ma per assicurare la cooperazione di tutti quelli che cercano di creare una vera organizzazione operale sullo scheleto proposto, il Comitato Esecutivo Nazionale della Industrial Workers of the World credè necessario di lanciare quest'invito per una Convenzione Nazionale da essere tenuta nella I. W. W. Textile Workers' Hall, 184 Main Street, Paterson, N. J., il Primo Maggio 1908, allo scopo di formare un'Unione Industriale Nazionale degli Operai Arti Tessili dell'Industrial Workers of the World.

BASI DI RAPPRESENTANZA.

Le rappresentanze alla convenzione devono essere basate sul numero di operai organizzati in un'Unione di Arti Tessili almeno due mesi prima della Convenzione. Ogni Unione avente diritto ad essere rappresentata alla convenzione avrà diritto a un voto per primi cinquanta membri e di un voto addizionale per ogni cinquanta membri in più o frazione maggiore.

La convenzione verificherà e agirà sulle credenziali di tutti quei delegati inviati da unioni non ancora connesse coll'Industrial Workers of the World.

Tutti gli operai, che accettano i piani ed i principi qui stabiliti, sono invitati ad organizzarsi immediatamente, e dove sono già organizzati di prepararsi per l'invio dei delegati a detta convenzione. Ogni altra informazione può essere ottenuta dalla sede generale della Industrial Workers of the World, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.

Opuscoli contenenti il manifesto ed invito possono averli al prezzo di \$2.00 al migliaio, scritti in Inglese, Francese, Tedesco, Italiano e Polacco. Inviare ordini al sù citato indirizzo.

Emanna' per autori' del Comitato Esecutivo Generale, Industrial Workers of the World.

Wm. E. TRAUTMANN,
Seg. Tes. Generale,
VINCENT ST. JOHN,
Organizzatore Generale.

F. W. HESWOOD,
Greenwood, B. C.
F. J. COLE,
Blue Island, Ill.

RUDOLPH KATZ,
Paterson, N. J.
B. H. WILLIAMS,
Eureka, Cal.

Wm. YATES,
New Bedford, Mass.



Membr del Consiglio Generale,
should be eliminated. Let them go on, they are necessary to arrive at the truth but don't let them interfere with the unity of the workingclass, and don't let them cause factionalism, as the tendency of that article in the "People" does.

I think the time is ripe for workingclass unity on both fields. There are plenty of S. L. P. and S. P. men also class-conscious men belonging to no party, who hold that the workingclass is before everything, within the I. W. W. Let them, as a first step, towards unity on the political field, come together and work for organizing the political division of the one work-

ingclass organization, the Industrial Workers of the World, and so accomplish what the intellectual leaders were unable to accomplish unity on the political field.

Marysville, Cal. MAX STERN.

Boston Workingmen

Greater Boston Mechanists' Local No. 56 of the I. W. W. holds regular meetings the second Friday of every month, at 1165 Tremont street. Doors opened at 7:30 p. m. Workers in any way connected with the metal and machinery industry are invited.

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Elizabeth G. Flynn, from E. P. M.....	3.00

Previously acknowledged.....\$ 44.20

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Previously acknowledged.....\$ 39.00

Total to date.....\$902.67

B. T. WEBER,
Cor. Sec'y.

All persons acquainted with local unions that may possibly be represented in the convention of Textile Workers to be held at Paterson, N. J., May 1st, are requested to notify the general headquarters, in order that the call may be mailed to such organizations.

Send your subscription for THE INDUSTRIAL UNION BULLETIN to Wm. E. TRAUTMANN, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill., and fill out this blank.

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BUT

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Japanese and Chinese Exclusion or Industrial Organization, Which?

By J. H. Walsh.

The Oriental exclusion question has received so much attention, and caused so much discussion, especially on the Pacific coast, that it is well for us to look for the cause of all this agitation.

So far as is known, the Industrial Workers of the World is the only organization that has ever done any organizing among the Japanese and Chinese in this country. Consequently, a short article from the industrial standpoint of practical experience among these people will be of interest to the readers of THE BULLETIN, as well as educational to a great many so-called American socialists, who claim to be socialists because of a scientific understanding of economics, and yet declare for the exclusion of these people from "our" shores.

Let it be thoroughly understood, to start with, that all this agitation and fight for exclusion of the Orientals is in the "interest" of the "white" working men and women," according to all the agitation of the "Oriental Exclusion League," composed of a majority of foreigners, who, only a short time ago took out their naturalization papers. But do not forget the point to be made in this paragraph, i. e., that all this exclusion fight is in the interest of the "poor working man." Stick a pin at this point and remember it all the way through.

In fact, there are so many elements now at work (?) to assist the "poor working man" that it will be no surprise if we awake some morning to find that the chains of wage slavery have been unlocked by the master, and the proletariat of the world stands in the midst of the co-operative commonwealth, ushered in by the captains of industry a few days ahead of—just when the politician expected to do the same slick trick at the ballot box.

However, let us proceed to the cold facts as to the Japanese exclusion, as that is the question for discussion, and especially is this true when we see men of prominence in the labor movement, who have pledged their word of honor to support the constitution that declares: "No wage earner shall be denied membership because of race, creed or color." And after swearing to the above, take the platform and advocate exclusion from America to a certain part of the working people of the world, and then conclude the address with: "Workers of the world, unite."

JAPANESE AND CHINESE ARE PROMPT WITH PAYMENT OF DUES.

In organizing among the Japanese working men, but little difference is found to that among other nationalities, excepting their shrewdness, and honesty to stick with the organization, after having taken the pledge. The first lecture from an industrial working-class standpoint, delivered to them, was before the Japanese Literary Society of Seattle, composed of about six hundred members. This society, of course, is not composed of all working men. It is the Japanese middle class, principally, and it is on this point that the exclusion fight hinges. A few members were secured, and from time to time more were secured, but the old story of lack of finances sufficient to employ a Japanese organizer and place him in the field, is why the work was not carried on successfully.

None of the Japanese or Chinese who become members fail to realize their duty as to paying their dues and keeping in good standing. This cannot be said, truthfully, of all the "whites." The Japanese and Chinese can be organized as rapidly as any other nationality, and when once pledged to stand with you, no fear or doubt need to be entertained as to them, during labor trouble. But some one will say, Why organize them when we can keep them out of this country? The workers cannot keep them out, because the working class does not compose the organized or dominant part of society. The organized part of society that controls today is the employing class, and it is at their will and desire that exclusion or admittance will be regulated. However, before concluding, I shall grant for argument, that the present agitation will accomplish its purpose and all Orientals will be excluded. This I shall do in order to point out to the worker the proposition that he confronts after the exclusion has been made effective.

EXCLUSION IS IN THE INTEREST OF THE MIDDLE CLASS.

At this point let us see why all this agitation. The greater number of the Orientals that have been coming to this country for some time are small business men. In fact, they are pretty much the "Jew Merchant" of the Orient, and when they enter the business field, their shrewdness, coupled with their keen perception of criminal commercialism, spells ruin to all competitors. The little American cock-roach sees the handwriting on the wall. I have not the space here to quote the many instances repeatedly published by the capitalist papers as to the closing of a "Jap" restaurant because of its being so filthy, etc.; of the "pure food inspector" finding the milk diluted, etc., etc. But the truth of all this is the shifting economic position of the little bourgeois American who secures this persecution in behalf of his own material interest. But the Japanese soon learn this, and then they become equal to the occasion. These people are entering every business of the middle class, and our little American cock-roach merchant sees his finish, unless he can create some disturbance of some kind, and thereby drag the working class into a middle-class fight. This dodge has been worked on the wage slaves many times by the bourgeois, but it remains to be seen whether the dastardly trick can be turned by this dying class in the twentieth century.

Therefore, you can easily see why this agitation is carried on in the "interest of the working man." Before granting for argument that the Orientals can be excluded, let us deal with the fact that thousands are here, and what to do with them.

COLD FACTS FOR CONSIDERATION BY THE WORKING CLASS.

1. They are here.
2. Thousands of them are wage workers.
3. They have the same commodity to sell as other workers—labor power.
4. They are as anxious as you, to get as much as possible. This is proven by the fact that they have come to this country. For what? To better their condition.

Granting that the above four statements are facts, and no one dare deny them—then what is the problem that confronts us? The Industrial Organization of these people. To say that "you can't organize them" is a misstatement. We have proven that they can be organized. Had our efforts proven futile among them, then there would be a hook to hang the agitation on for their exclusion. But such is not the case. They can be organized as rapidly, if not more so, than any other nationality on earth. We of the Industrial Workers of the World have organized Japanese and Chinese, and the United Mine Workers of America have organized Japanese in the coal fields of Wyoming. This is proof that they can be organized.

When the average worker hears the explanation he is thoroughly convinced that we are confronted with the above mentioned facts, but to think of belonging to an organization that takes in "Japs," "Chinks," "Dagoes," and "Niggers," he rebels, until shown that he already belongs to their organization by being a member of the working class, of which all the above-mentioned nationalities are members, and that his only escape from being a member of that class is to get into the millionaire class. The working man, however, who is so afraid of falling in "social caste" is generally pretty quick to see the light of interest when his job is at stake, as illustrated by the Sallors' Union, members of the American Federation of Labor, some months ago.

SAILORS' UNION ASKS I. W. W. TO KEEP JAPANESE FROM SCABBING.

Of course, the Sailors' Union refuses to organize the Japanese or Chinese, which is in harmony with the dictates of the A. F. of L. However, the day that the Sailors' Union members went on strike, a representative called at the I. W. W. hall three times to find the organizer. What was his mission? He said: "We learn that you fellows have organized the Japs?" "Yes, some of them," we remarked, "but not all of them. They are like the American—slow to see their working class interest." "Well, what I want is this," remarked the representative from the water front. "We have got a strike on the sailors, and we understand that you have organized the Japanese, and that the ship owners are going to employ Japs to take our places, and what we want you to do is to keep the Japs from taking our jobs."

The organizer proceeded to the water-front with the delegate to see the Steamship Umatilla tied up. On the way from the I. W. W. hall to the docks I said: "Your union, I believe, refuses to organize the Japanese and Chinese." Of course, this put him in an embarrassing position, and he explained the best that he could. We arrived at the docks to see the smoke rolling out of the large stack, when I said: "Why, I thought you told me the Umatilla was tied up," and he quickly responded, "Yes, it is." But I said: "How does it come that the smoke rolls out of that stack? They have got a scab fireman on already, eh?" And quickly came his reply: "Oh, no! You see, the engineer must have a certificate from Uncle Sam, and consequently he can't quit." "Oh, I see," I said, "he does not belong to the union." "Yes, he belongs to the union," responded the delegate, "but he must stay at his job or he will lose his certificate from the government."

JAPANESE STAND TRUE WHILE A. F. OF L. ENGINEERS SCAB.

He then proceeded to tell me what they wanted was to keep the Japanese from scabbing and they could win. I assured him that we would keep off all Japanese and Chinese who belong to the I. W. W., but, of course, that there were hundreds of them who do not belong, and while we can do nothing positive with them, we will use our best efforts to prevent them from scabbing. Then I said: "My friend, if you sailors want to win this strike, you should be willing to do as much on your own part as you are coming to ask of the Japanese and Chinese, through the Industrial Workers of the World," when he quickly responded: "Yes, we want to win, and we'll do our part." How little he realized what he was answering to. How little he realized what was coming. How far he was from knowing the power of the bosses' union was expressed by the look on his face when I said: "To win this strike is no easy task; we must keep all the Japanese off. This the I. W. W. will do. Now, you pull that scab engineer off and the strike is won, otherwise it is lost." His organization could not pull the engineer off, but the I. W. W. kept every Japanese member from scabbing, even to the extent that Japanese employment offices posted notices warning the Japanese working men not to take the jobs. For the first time, hundreds of working men along the water-front saw the truth of the teachings of the I. W. W.—the identity of interest of the wage workers of the world.

A FEW WAGE COMPARISONS OF JAPANESE AND "WHITE" WORKERS.

The Japanese possess the quality of "stick" that is necessary in a wage worker to make a good industrialist. At Port Blakely, where "white" men are driven like Mexican peons in a lumber mill, many Japanese are employed. The Japanese decided to ask for a raise of wages of 20 cents per day. One morning they all rolled up their blankets ready to leave camp if their demands were not granted. The 20 cent raise was granted. This gave the Japanese an average of seven cents per day more than the "white" workman.

At the Tidewater mill, Tacoma, the Japanese and many "whites" were working for \$1.75 per day. The Japanese went on strike for \$2 per day. They won. The "whites" hung their heads and held their jobs at \$1.75. In a few weeks after the Japanese won, they said: "If we can get the American workers to come with us we can win \$2.25 per day." But the "white" workers were satisfied with \$1.75 while the Japanese received \$2. Their knowledge of the labor field and how to win is illustrated in the labor report issued by the commissioner of labor of the state of California.

WHAT THE LABOR COMMISSIONER OF CALIFORNIA HAS TO SAY.

He says that the Japanese do not strike, but that they work on, whatever the condition may be, until all idle labor is out of the field, and then, just when the crop is the ripest, when the work must be done, they walk out, making a demand for better wages or shorter hours without any mercy for the employer whatsoever. In other words, they eliminate the scab before they strike.

The labor commissioner of California is quite correct, and it is that very qualification in the Japanese that will make one of the best industrialists ever known. While there are many Japanese working for less than Americans are, there are thousands of Americans working for less than Japanese.

I might cite you, too, many instances similar to the above, but it is not necessary. A few serve as proof. In the above general review of the Japanese, the same holds true of the Chinese workers also. In many places along the coast, Chinese may be found drawing better wages than the "whites," and repeatedly in the fish canneries are found Chinese foremen with "white" women and girls working under them. All this complicated mess can only be adjusted by industrial organization and administration.

ARGUMENT GRANTED THAT EXCLUSION CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED.

Let us now argue that through the efforts of the bourgeois and the assistance of the American Federation of Labor, the working class can be dragged into a middle class fight, and are successful in excluding all the Orientals, and sending back those who are here. Granting that such a move can be made, then we must be ready to face the new condition that confronts us.

At this point let us call the attention of the reader to the fact that capitalism is international and recognizes no boundary lines or race distinctions. The capitalist has only one thing in view—profits. He does not allow international lines or race prejudice to play any detrimental part to those profits, either, if within his power to prevent the same. He buys "labor power"—the only commodity the wage worker has to sell—in the cheapest market in the world. He buys that commodity the same as he buys any other commodity, and for the same purpose—to be utilized in his factory to return more profits.

Realizing the above economic facts, capital—American as well as Japanese—is seeking investment in manufacturing establishments of the Orient.

INTERESTING STATISTICS BY COMMISSIONER OF LABOR.

A late report of Special Agent W. A. Graham Clark of the department of commerce and labor covers one industry pretty much in detail, and shows the industrial advance in the line of cotton manufacturing. While we have no detailed reports of other industries, the fact remains that their advance is keeping step in the Orient with the cotton factories. Let us quote some figures given out by Mr. Clark of the department of commerce and labor.

Cotton manufacturing, he says, is the most important single industry of modern Japan. Some of the brainiest, most enterprising men of the empire, and American capital, control the factories: the largest banks are heavily interested in the business, and back of the young industries is the whole force of the paternal government urging it on.

There are forty-nine cotton-spinning companies in Japan, operating eighty-five mills. All of the eighty-five mills make yarn, and

fourteen also manufacture cloth. On June 30, 1907, there were, according to the reports of the Japanese Spinners' Association, 1,450,949 spindles, of which 1,373,709 were ring and 77,240 mule; also 133,052 twister spindles and 9,136 looms. The capital of these forty-nine companies was \$21,966,675; the capital paid in \$18,675,479; the reserve fund \$6,271,323; the fixed capital (permanent investment) \$17,746,371, and the amount of fire insurance carried on buildings and machinery was \$15,992,900. The total liabilities of the forty-nine companies were \$6,598,836.

There were employed 14,369 men at an average wage of 36.17 sen, or 18.08 cents a day, and 61,462 women at an average wage per day of 22.42 sen, or 11.21 cents a day. Figuring this out gives six months' total wages of operatives as \$948,832, or the yearly wages as about \$2,000,000.

The mills report a total of \$5,370,931 as operating cost of producing 485,577 bales of yarn, and about 71,168,497 yards of cloth. To produce this there was consumed 221,994,750 pounds of cotton.

There was reported a total net profit of \$3,980,984 for the first six months of the year; \$1,200,014 was charged off to depreciation of buildings and machinery, and after paying about 10 per cent. of an average semi-annual dividend, \$940,276 was carried forward.

From these figures it will be noticed that the net profit is entirely above the American proportion to the cost of production. The average worker may say, we care nothing about the profits the capitalist may make in Japan. But this important point must be given consideration from the exclusion point of view. It is this greater profit that lures the American capitalist to invest in the Orient.

With a total cost of \$5,370,931 they report a profit of \$3,980,984. This is accomplished by men working at an average wage of 18.08 cents per day, and women, of whom there were about four times as many as men, working at an average wage of 11.21 cents a day. Examining the wage account closer shows that the prices paid weavers is about 7 cents per 40 yards, and production is about 50 yards in a day of 12 hours.

LOW WAGES PAID IN JAPAN BUT LIVING IS VERY CHEAP.

The reader should remember, however, that while the wages may appear very small, living is very cheap in Japan. It must be understood also, that the wages in this twentieth century, the world over, means only an existence for the wage slaves, whether in America, Europe or Japan.

The Japanese mills work long hours, and many of them are operated almost continuously. The forty-nine cloth mills average 28.2 days out of 31 per month, and averaged 22 hours to the day, a total of 620 hours as an average for each mill for the month. In the operation of the mills Sunday is not regarded and the mills do not stop for the day. The majority of the mills have two Fridays, the 1st and 15th. In many mills the engine starts at 6 o'clock the morning of the 2d, and runs continuously until 6 o'clock the morning of the 15th; then starts at 6 o'clock of the morning of the 16th and runs continuously until 6 o'clock of the morning of the 1st.

This is as near perpetual motion as machines can stand. No stop is made for dinner, the hands taking 30 minutes for dinner in rotation, and a "swing shift" taking the places of those who are eating. Each operative works from 6 to 6 with 30 minutes for dinner, and the night shift comes on at 6 p. m.

There is no child labor law, and some very young children are worked. The mills do not want to work any under 12, as they are not profitable, but in order to get help the factories very often have to take the whole family.

The mills are straining every nerve to develop their export business, and have organized the "Cotton Cloth Export Association," the object of which is to get control of the foreign trade in the cotton piece goods business, and the mills have agreed to ship 1,000 bales per month, even if they have to sell at a loss in order to compete with America.

Therefore, granting that you exclude them from our shores, they are found creating wealth just across the pond, and this wealth created is in competition in the world's market.

One other instance will assist in clinching the facts in the above industry. The Union Iron Works of San Francisco laid off many hundred men in the summer of 1907, during commercial prosperity, closing down the shipbuilding industry in that city to a great extent. The Schwab interests which control the above mentioned industry gave out the report that they could not build ships in this country and make any profits. Immediately on this close down we learned of the opening of a great shipbuilding yard at Tokio, Japan. Of course, we all know that the Japanese government will not allow foreign investors to run industries in Japan, but we learn by actual fact that the commercial criminals dodge the laws as easily in Japan as in the United States. Therefore, American capital is investing in the different industries of the Orient.

FAILING TO EXCLUDE. WHAT IS THE PROBLEM BEFORE US?

What is the problem, then, that confronts the worker?

1. The working people, disorganized as they are, cannot force the exclusion of any foreigner from American shores, against the material interest of the employing or capitalist class.
2. If the Japanese be excluded from this country, it will be because of a middle class commercial demand, and the ignorance of the working class will serve only as a dragnet to pull the wage slave, once more, into the cob-webs of middle class interests.

3. Granting that the Japanese are excluded, the American worker still stands in the world's market to sell his labor power at a price that his employer may manufacture and sell goods at a profit, and compete in the world's market.

Certainly any worker should see the problem that he is confronted with, and to set up or to continue an agitation of exclusion is only to blur the facts to be dealt with, from the proletarian standpoint. Another point that the American worker has yet to learn is the new competition in the Japanese workmen. In the past the American has found little competition in the European workman in "speeding at the machine." The European employer has not been able to drive the wage slave at the speed of the machine, as has his American brother employer, and as a result of this drive of the American worker, although his wages have been higher, the American manufacturer has been able to compete in the world's market because of the greater proportional output. Now comes the Japanese worker—men and women—who can be "speeded" the same as the American, and the race from now on is not a handicap, but a neck and neck race, as is illustrated by the above figures given out by Special Labor Commissioner Clark. The Chinese workers, like the Europeans, can not be "speeded."

In conclusion, let us say that the Industrial Workers of the World will follow this brief review of the Oriental problem with a pamphlet, as soon as sufficient statistics and data can be secured, to show conclusively that there is only one correct and scientific position to be taken on this question, and that is the Industrial Organization of the wage slaves of the world, regardless of race, creed or color. Understanding this, the speaker may appear before an audience and truthfully and scientifically conclude his address with the words: "Workers of the world, unite," without placing his foot in his mouth.

To clean out the remainder of the stenographic report of the second annual I. W. W. convention, and get them into the hands of members, we will mail a copy prepaid to any address for 20 cents. Locals can dispose of this 600-page book at 25 cents. The one thing needed is Zeigler, Williams and Ballantine.

Illinois miners who rendered valuable assistance to the trip of Vincent St. John through the state, which general headquarters very much appreciate, were Fellow Workers De Castro, Renner, Swanson, Schmitz, cents. The one thing needed is Zeigler, Williams and Ballantine.

ECONOMIC DETERMINISM

How Social Institutions Came Into Existence Through Changing Methods of Production

FROM THE PAST TO THE FUTURE

BY WORD H. MILLS

CHAPTER XXII.

We have now reached a point where the history of human development stands forth in clear perspective. In the survey of that perspective that which impresses most is that the race has passed through one mighty, one fundamental, one revolutionary change in its form of social organization; and that another of equal magnitude is imminent.

We have followed the outlines of IWW Bul 13—Fisher A7 FIVE the processes through which gentle society was transformed from a system of social organization founded on ties of consanguinity into a constitution whose structure was reared upon private property and geographical demarcation. We also perceive plainly functioning the processes through which political society is rapidly developing the new order—the Industrial Constitution.

Quickened within the fast rotting integument of the political state, developed and fashioned from the material elements of the older order, and embodying within itself the germs of a loftier type of human institutions, the new social constitution, made to conform to modern methods of production, is struggling to break the shell that yet confines it.

We have come to understand that human progress is epitomized in the science of biology; that all the phenomena of social development are the product of organic evolution; that man has come up out of the sub-human world; that human society is the result of organic growth; that our present industrial and social order is but a transitory phase in the functioning of processes whose activities are determined by laws that admit of no repeal; that each and all of us live and die as factors employed by a power we do not understand towards fulfilling a destiny we can only guess at.

Material environment has compelled the working class to conceive the plan and construct the framework of the order which shall presently develop from the capitalist chrysalis. The plan is founded upon the idea of a democracy in co-operating industry. This plan differs from that of primitive gentile society in that it is founded upon kinship; it differs from political society founded upon property and locality; in its structural form it differs from both in that its system of representation in its form of government is based on the industrial relation to the method of production.

In gentle society production was a communal function for the benefit of all. In political society production is social for the benefit of parasites who own the means whereby production functions. In industrial society production and distribution will be a social function in which all who are willing to share in its duties may in the same measure share in the enjoyment of its products.

The plan has been conceived and the embryonic outlines of the structure are in process of building. I have indicated that under the constantly changing structure of capitalist society the trade unions system, born with the era of machine production and adapted for resistance in only the first stage of economic development consequent upon machine work, has become impotent because it failed to develop tactical methods to correspond.

In the new form of labor union, as yet in its infancy, we discover the elements of the social system that will supplant the capitalist one deriving its strength from the political state. Therefore, to understand the method of governmental administration of coming society, we have but to familiarize our minds with the structural plan of the Industrial Union, which brings the workers in every field of activity into harmonious relationship each with the other, and therefore into that broad unity that makes for universal brotherhood, not only in name, but in fact.

In that economic organization of the working class known as the Industrial Union, and whose integral structure constitutes the embryonic structure of coming society, provision is made for such changes as may be incident to organic social development. Every part of the Industrial Union bears such an organic relationship to all the other parts of it as to constitute an organic unit. It is axiomatic that no structure of any sort is stronger than its weakest part. In the Industrial Union the smallest cell of the organism is so made as to conform to requirements forced upon the wealth producers by the ever-changing developments within the industrial system.

The structure of the Industrial Union conforms to the organized form of modern capitalist industry. Capitalism in the third stage of its evolutionary development, through specialization in the division of labor, has grouped the workers into co-operative entities on the basis of industries, each of which constitutes a link in the chain that binds the entire industrial system.

In this connection I believe I can present no clearer conception, fundamentally, that I have seen given in the language of one of the active organizers of the Industrial Workers of the World.

(CONCLUSION) "Take the trade of carpenter for example: Formerly a carpenter was an all-around builder who could con-

*B. H. Williams, in an address to the working class in New York City, March 2, 1908. "Whereas, The late matter that came out in The Industrial Union Bulletin relating to the Connolly-DeLeon affair is detrimental to the best interest of the working class, as it tears down the work already done by injecting the personal quarrels of individuals; and

"Whereas, The interest of the working class is greater than any so-called leader or leaders; and

"Whereas, In the publication of such matters the wage slaves do not learn anything that will lead to their economic freedom, even making such literature obnoxious for distribution in propaganda meetings; and

"Whereas, Such matters will only cause more confusion, and we have enough of that now, therefore be it

"Resolved, That we condemn such literature obnoxious for such purpose, and we also insist on more strict methods of publication.

"Resolved, We heartily approve of the actions of the G. E. B. in their reply to the W. F. M., as we will refuse to unite with anything that savors of pure and simple, in a Civic Federation, and we condemn the actions of Local 43 as detrimental to the real cause of unity. We would advise Local 43 to buy a copy of the proceedings of the fifteenth annual convention of the W. F. M. and consider the same."

JOHN HANLON, F. VELLARDE, J. A. LEACH, Phoenix, Arizona.

Files a Protest Resolutions adopted by Mixed Local No. 320, I. W. W., Worcester, Mass., April 1, 1908:

"Whereas, There has been published in the columns of the I. U. B. of March 28th a certain article in the shape of a poem entitled, 'The New Diatetics,' by Justice Elbert, of Brooklyn, N. Y.; and

"Whereas, We believe in argumentation and the presenting of both sides of a subject as the only means whereby a rational conclusion can be reached; and we, as individuals, wish to be most beneficial to us, and in anything that will tend to brighten our lives, broaden our views, or in any way help us in our struggle; and

"Whereas, We believe said article in no way does any of the above, but rather is a malicious and slanderous attack, lightly veiled, by insinuations on one whom we believe to be sincere and honest in his purpose and steadfast in his efforts to uplift the struggling wage-slave in this hour of need; and

"Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be entered in the records of the local, and one sent to The Bulletin."

"WM. TAYLOR, Chairman, 'HARRY LOKE, Recording Secy. pro tem."

Laws Disregarded The following notice of a state nine inspectors posted at Dunfermline, Ill., was copied verbatim by me during a recent trip in the State with Fellow Worker Vincent St. John:

"March 20, 1908: 'I have this day inspected Big Creek Coal Co. Mine, near Dunfermline and find its condition as follows:

"North side 13 and 14 E. cut open, full of smoke; 15 and 16 E. the same; entries, north E. no air; 15 and 16 W. no air; 13 and 14 W. no air; south 9 and 10, E. 11 and 12, E. 11 and 12, W. entries of 2 south, no air; no doors or curtains to air this part of the mine.

"For the better protection of the live and health of the employees would recommend the following:

"That you put doors up in the above workings, to give those men air in all working places.

"You were informed of this last inspection and must be done at once.

"Date of inspection, March 20th, 1908.

"Date of last inspection, Dec. 4th, 1907.

"Number of hours required to make inspection, _____

"Tom Parcel, Inspector of Mines, 4th District.

Fellow Workers of the Coal Mines: The above shows how little attention our industrial lords and masters pay to the laws of the land. On Dec. 4, 1907, the company was informed by the proper arm of the law that in this mine the life and health of its employees were in danger on account of bad air, etc. Notice was given to make necessary repairs at once. Was it done? No! Why? Because it would have cost the noble (?) coal baron of Dunfermline a few dollars. The lives of his slaves of the mine are offered at the shrine of King Profit! If some get killed others can be procured very easily in this time of industrial depression to take their places. No law on the statute books of the land in the interest of the workers is enforced unless there is a bona fide labor union strong and determined enough to stand up and fight for its rights. Slaves of the mines, are you willing forever to work under those conditions, risking your lives while digging profits for your master and an early grave for yourselves? Toller in the mines, arouse yourselves; don't remain passive while other workers are bestirring themselves. Investigate what industrial unionism is, what it means, and what it wants to accomplish. Form educational clubs until the time for

(The End.)

Resolutions From Phoenix

The appended resolutions were passed by Local 272, I. W. W., Phoenix, Arizona:

"Whereas, The late matter that came out in The Industrial Union Bulletin relating to the Connolly-DeLeon affair is detrimental to the best interest of the working class, as it tears down the work already done by injecting the personal quarrels of individuals; and

"Whereas, The interest of the working class is greater than any so-called leader or leaders; and

"Whereas, In the publication of such matters the wage slaves do not learn anything that will lead to their economic freedom, even making such literature obnoxious for distribution in propaganda meetings; and

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YE WHO TOIL.

By John Lemon.

(Tune: "Maryland.")

The land lies rich with bounteous store,
Ye who toil;
The factories burst at every door,
Ye who toil;
The mines are rich as e'er of yore,
The fields but call for tillage more;
Then why a master's grace implore?
Ye sons of toil, ye proletaires!

Come, must ye fawn to charity?
Ye who toil;
Must yours the dole of serfdom be?
Ye who toil;
These iron roads, these ships at sea,
These swollen boards—Earth's treasures free—
'Tis but your toil, reality,
Ye sons of toil, ye proletaires!

Let plunderers plead, fraternal claim,
Ye who toil;
Leave hither harp of rights God-tan,
Ye who toil;
Remember spies and Couer d'Alene,
The reeking pen, the midnight train,
The quick-lime pits on banks of Seine—
Ye sons of toil, ye proletaires!

Their councils reek with legal guile,
Ye who toil;
A nation's venal wit and wile,
Ye who toil;
Their mercenary lore revile,
To swell a despotic hoarded pile,
Steep not your minds in slavery vile.
Ye sons of toil, ye proletaires!

The gild sands red will soon be told,
Ye who toil;
The structure totters 'neath its mold,
Ye who toil;
But 'mid that crash your forms shall hold
And rise as Phoenix rood of old—
A state not reared of blood and gold—
Ye sons of toil, ye proletaires!

Hark! 'tis the battle-trump of fate,
Ye who toil;
All haste the rising social state,
Ye who toil;
'Tis your's a world to liberate,
Your only loss a shackles weight,
Ye proletaires, consolidate,
Ye sons of toil, ye proletaires!

Meridan, Wash.

action; the organizing of your forces is at hand. Subscribe to the I. U. B., and the notion that your interest as a coal digger and the interest of the operator are the same will soon leave your mind. If you want to know the road to industrial freedom read and investigate. O. J.

About "Lumberjacks" Answering an objector who does not like the word "lumberjack," which is used in Montana to designate men who work in the woods, the "Missoulian" reprints an article from the "Missoulian," from which the following extract is taken:

"There is nothing on the staff of The Missoulian who uses the word in question with any degree of disrespect or who employs it either for the purpose of defaming the men who work in the woods or of ridiculing them. There are some of us who have known the woodsmen and the rivermen for a long time; among the men of the axe and the peevy there are some warm friends of the men in this office. We have called them 'lumberjacks' for a good many years; we have slept in their bunks and have eaten at their tables; we have known them in the woods and on the river and in town and the older ones know us pretty well. They have never objected to the word 'lumberjack'."

"As a matter of opinion, the word seems to us to be a pretty good one; it has served its purpose well for years; there are many of the men who have worked in the Montana woods for years who have dignified the name. These old Montana 'lumberjacks' are the best men in the world at their business; they ask no odds of Michigan or the Sound country; they have in the years of their sojourn in western Montana made the name 'lumberjack' respected; it stands here for a good man who follows a good calling."

"After all, it rests with men like 'A Bitter Root Logger' to determine whether the name 'lumberjack' shall have the significance that it has always possessed in western Montana or whether it shall be what Mr. Logger assumes it to be, a term of reproach. If 'A Bitter Root Logger' lives up to the standard which his predecessors in this field have established, the term will continue to be an honored expression. A name is what its holder makes it; he can stain it or he can give it dignity."

"The Missoulian and its workers have no desire to hurt the feelings of the man who wishes to fix upon us the nomenclature of the coast; but we shall continue to call our friends from the woods lumberjacks. And it is a fact that is worth noting that the Montana lumberjack receives a payweek that in comparison with the remuneration of the Puget sound logger, is a pretty good measure of the difference between the two. We'll stick to the old word and to the old boys. They're both pretty good."

Read the special notice to officers of Local Unions on first page of this week's paper.

PREAMBLE OF THE I. W. W.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

The rapid gathering of wealth and the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands make the trades union unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because the trade unions foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. The trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These sad conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making injury to one an injury to all.

Therefore, without endorsing or desiring endorsement of any political party, we unite under the following constitution.

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